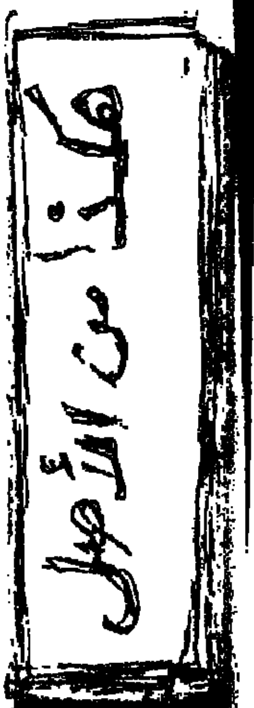


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Poland: Russian motives at Madrid talks suspected



bservers in Bonn are wondering whether Russia might be preparing ll out of the Helsinki review con-ss in Madrid as a curtain-raiser to her moves against Poland.

e concern in Bonn and other West- capitals is that the Soviets may have interest both in continuing the talks convening a European disarmament ference.

is lack of interest, it is feared, d in part indicate the dangers that nd faces. Moscow knows that any sion of Poland would kill the con-nce.

Bonn feels the East-West talks in drid will, provided they continue, d to stabilise the situation for Poland, ys assuming the Soviet Union is still sted in the so-called CSCE process.

viet Deputy Foreign Minister Leo- Ilyichev as chief Soviet delegate in rid suggested to the conference on June a procedure for convening a ial European disarmament confer-e.

Countries represented at the Madrid , he said, should agree on terms of ence including the general formula confidence-building measures in the itary sector, such as manoeuvre ob-ation, should be "suitably extended oth directions."

he West felt this was going back on Brezhnev's offer, made at the CPSU y Congress in February, of Soviet re-ess to extend confidence-building sures to the entire European part of Soviet Union.

Without being specific Mr Brezhnev said he expected the West to make rresponding increase in the extent of rritory in which confidence-building sures were to be carried out.

This offer by the Soviet leader came a twofold surprise. First, his claim throwing open all of European Rus- to confidence-building measures was pecial concession ran counter to the 5 Helsinki accords.

The Helsinki accords were to apply to rope as a whole. But Moscow has so only felt able to agree to confidence-ilding measures in a border zone km (150 miles) wide.

The West, on the other hand, agreed confidence-building measures in all part of Europe, so it was hard to see at Moscow could mean by a further tension.

The Kremlin was rumoured to want only the North Atlantic but also the tern seaboard of the United States d Canada to be included in the area where confidence-building measures were to apply.

Second, the Soviet Union has yet to outline in greater detail what it expects from the West even though it evidently now insists on fulfilment as a precondition for holding a European disarmament conference.

When Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher visited Moscow in early April Mr Gromyko, asked exactly what Mr Brezhnev had in mind, said the Western counter-concession was negotiable. It was up to the West to come up with a suitable proposal.

Herr Genscher though it was most unusual for the Soviet Union not to say exactly what it wanted and still more so for Moscow to leave it up to the West to make an offer.

Mr Ilyichev has now made it clear that Moscow will only agree to a European disarmament conference (on which it had seemed particularly keen) provided the conference's terms of reference include the reciprocal extension of the geographical area to which it is to apply that the Kremlin has yet to specify.

Western capitals have still to decide whether the Soviet objective is to stymie the conference or merely to establish a convenient tactical starting-point for exerting pressure in support of Soviet demands.

So far (since last autumn, that is) the Soviet Union has behaved in a contradictory manner in Madrid. The second Helsinki review conference (the first was in Belgrade) has often been on the brink of failure.

Were it not for the need to keep talking as an indirect safeguard for Poland a number of Western countries, not to mention the neutrals, might have preferred, if only for cost reasons, to scrap a conference that seemed pointless.

Eventually, however, a majority of Western delegations agreed with Bonn that there was nothing to be gained by self-imposed deadline pressures.

Even though the review conference as resumed last autumn was intended to have finished work before Eastern, talks are now to continue without the pressure of a deadline so as to rule out hectic activity before the summer recess, as Bonn puts it.

So the conference will be able to continue conferring this autumn unless the Soviet Union succeeds in putting a spoke in its wheel.

Yet the West is keen to negotiate briskly and with a view to accomplishing results. One result will be the terms of reference for the European disarmament conference.

Were it not to be held, Bonn for one would consider Madrid to have been a failure. The West would like to see the disarmament conference run along security conference lines.

The West backed a French proposal for the disarmament conference, whereas the East endorsed a Polish proposal. The West was prepared to agree to the conference provided the following conditions were fulfilled:

- It must form part of the Helsinki process, otherwise it might serve as no more than a fresh Eastern propaganda forum and not as a setting for talks on matters of substance.
- The area within which confidence-building measures were to be carried out must be extended beyond the 250-km Soviet border zone.
- The special European disarmament conference must be given clearly framed terms of reference by the 34 countries in conference at Madrid.

The United States, initially sceptical, eventually no longer had any objections.

Bonn still hopes all concerned will now see the Madrid conference not as the end of a succession of security conferences but as a step in a further direction.

A final document on which several commissions are working, without much prospect of success, is intended to include, if at all possible, progress on all three Helsinki "baskets."

It would thus retain all issues dealt with in Helsinki and end by naming the date and venue of the next review conference.

Herr Genscher has been briefed in Madrid by the current head of the German delegation, Count Rantzau, on Mr Ilyichev's Madrid speech.

Ambassador Hansjörg Kastl, the chief German delegate, is in hospital in Heidelberg recovering from injuries sustained in a car crash.

Both Western delegations in Madrid and Foreign Ministries in the capitals of Nato countries are now conferring on how to assess and reply to the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister's remarks.

The new and tougher Soviet line is seen in connection with comments by Moscow to the effect that Mr Brezhnev's offer of a freeze in medium-range missiles in Europe was a once-only gesture of Soviet goodwill and no longer applied.

Western and neutral visitors returning from the Soviet Union also report that Moscow does not seem inclined to make any cuts in its 22-20 missile manufacture and deployment programme.

This too leads Bonn to believe that Moscow has decided in favour of a tougher approach.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, für Deutschland, 16 June 1981)



At the court of King Juan Carlos

Spain's King Juan Carlos with Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Madrid. During his two-day visit, Herr Genscher discussed Spain's possible entry into the EEC and Nato. (Photo: Sven Simon)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

How the non-aligned movement boxes clever out of the Kremlin's reach

DEUTSCHES SONNTAGSBLATT

The non-aligned movement is constantly confronted with the Soviet demand to regard Moscow as its natural ally, but most non-aligned countries refuse to to so.

They are increasingly coming to appreciate that the Soviet Union has never respected them as an independent force and that it regards them as pieces on a foreign policy chessboard.

The Soviet Union claims its attitude towards the non-aligned countries is governed by what Mr Breznev calls common or similar viewpoints on current fundamental issues.

This is said to be more than mere coincidence; it is due to the non-aligned countries having had to wrest their independence from Western colonial powers and still facing economic problems attributable to Western predominance in international economic affairs.

This striving for independence is backed economically, militarily and politically by the Soviet Union and its allies. Indeed, the existence of the Soviet camp is said to be an essential prerequisite of non-aligned policy:

"Non-alignment," according to Girish Mathur, "would be hard to envisage without the Soviet Union and the socialist countries to lend support."

There is undeniably a common interest in changing the status quo, but the Soviet Union is interested in hegemony rather than in unconditional support of the non-aligned countries demand for independence.

This can be seen from the fact that Kremlin ideologists reduce non-aligned policies to their "anti-Western" objectives and ignore the fact that non-alignment is a response to power politics as pursued by both blocs.

Relations between the Soviet Union and the non-aligned countries have gone through several stages since, in 1947, the wartime Allies split and Moscow proclaimed its theory of the two camps.

The gist of this theory was that in the cold war between Moscow and Washington there could be no such thing as neutrality. Those who were not for Russia were against her.

This point was made forcibly to Tito's Yugoslavia after Belgrade broke with the Comintern in 1948, while the leaders of the non-communist emerging nation-states were branded as lackeys of imperialism.

The threat of US encirclement and India's neutrality in the Korean War led to a chance in outlook that came to the fore under Khrushchev from 1954.

Neutrality and non-alignment were supported. Ties with the Third World were developed and their leaders were rehabilitated.

In 1955 Bulganin even compared Mahatma Gandhi, the erstwhile "traitor," with Lenin: "Gandhi taught in India just as Lenin taught in Soviet Russia."

With the blessings of the 20th CPSU Party Congress in 1955 the non-aligned countries were now said to form part of a wide zone of peace including both socialist and non-socialist peace-loving states of Europe and Asia.

They were even to be assigned a leading role in running the United Nations. In 1960 Mr Khrushchev suggested replacing the UN Secretary-General with a troika representing the socialist, the capitalist and the non-aligned blocs respectively.

The positive neutrality of the Afro-Asian countries, as it was termed, was not backed for its own sake. It was a welcome opportunity of building a rampart against the United States.

It was also intended to be a transitional arrangement en route to the establishment of Soviet-type socialism in the Third World.

National leaders, however, seldom cared to play the part in which they were cast by Moscow. They made it clear that their cooperation was due not to ideological agreement but with a view to serving their own national interests.

This and the wave of national liberation movements since the end of the 50s led to a change in Soviet outlook towards developments in the Third World.

Neutrality in the service of peace was no longer enough. What was now needed was progress in the Third World via the "non-capitalist way of development."

The key features of this development were moves against Western capitalism, social and democratic reforms and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

This was the situation in 1961 when, in Belgrade, the non-aligned movement took shape. It was viewed with scepticism, especially as it was set up without Soviet participation and largely masterminded by "arch-revisionist" Tito.

Moscow preferred to back radical forces represented by the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation, set up in 1957 with Soviet support.

The Belgrade conference was demonstratively ignored. On its opening day Moscow staged a nuclear test.

The outcome of the non-aligned conferences in Belgrade and, in 1964, Cairo was later greeted with critical solidarity. Efforts to bring about ambiguous cooperation were also stepped up.

But the non-aligned movement itself was still considered to be of virtually no importance, and this assessment underwent no change when, after Mr Brezhnev took over in 1964, a slightly different view took shape.

It was that non-alignment could only play a positive part in world affairs if "participants reject attempts to confront their countries with the socialist states," as *Pravda* put it on 3 September 1970.

This did not appear to be the case when, after the 1968 Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, Tito tried to resolve the crisis of the non-aligned movement that had been smouldering since 1964.

That was why the Kremlin sought to forestall the 1970 Lusaka non-aligned summit and proposed instead a conference of all anti-imperialist forces to be held in Moscow.

This plan came unstuck, especially as the non-aligned movement emerged in the 70s as a significant force in world affairs. So a change in tactics became necessary.

Moves directed against the ... continued to be welcomed, but ... on the non-aligned movement ... especially its course of independ... both blocs, were intensified.

In 1973 Mr Brezhnev even w... far as to send to the fourth non-... summit conference in Algiers a ... warning participants against attemp... set the non-aligned countries again... socialist states.

Moscow has always been parti... irate about views that are equally ... of East and West and regard the ... as divided into the poor South ... rich North.

Since 1976, however, the ... changed. Without changing the ... basics Moscow now claims to be ... fender of the non-aligned move... unity.

Soviet line has not been swallowed

This is accompanied by a bid by ... powerful pro-Soviet faction in ... movement to induce it to swallow ... Soviet line in its entirety.

The Soviet Union sets great st... the opportunities open to Cuba by ... tue of its chairmanship of the ... aligned movement from 1979 to 19...

There are no signs that this pl... working. The Soviet invasion of A... nistan has heightened the vigilan... the overwhelming majority of ... aligned countries towards Moscow.

They are defending their indepen... approach and not allowing themsel... be swayed by a small minority of ... Soviet forces.

As the Foreign Minister of S... puts it: "We have no natural fr... only natural enemies: *famine*, p... and war."

Klaus Fab...

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsbl... 11 June 19...)

Maintaining the balance in a divided Berlin



American, British, French and German experts at a West Berlin symposium have agreed that the Berlin Wall, built 20 years ago, and the Four-Power Berlin Agreement, signed 10 years ago, have stabilised the divided city.

Politicians, diplomats and political scientists meeting under the auspices of the Aspen Institute and the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, saw the city as a yardstick of East-West ties over the past 20 years.

Harvard political scientist Karl Deutsch said international conflicts might affect the city but, 20 years after the Wall and 10 years after the Four-Power Agreement, Berlin itself no longer triggered conflicts of international proportions.

Klaus Schütz, the former mayor of West Berlin, said the building of the Wall had marked the beginning of a rethink, while US political scientist Richard L. Merritt outlined at a final press conference the reason for this change in outlook.

By accepting the building of the Berlin Wall the West had, in effect, taken into account the political constraints on the Soviet Union and the GDR.

German reunification, Herr Schütz added, had seemed to become an even more distant prospect.

He also felt the *Ostpolitik* pursued by the Social and Free Democratic Bonn coalition and the policy of limited, gradual progress had been adopted as a result of the change brought about in Berlin by the building of the Wall.

The debate revealed, however, that the abrupt change in Bonn's *Ostpolitik* with the advent of the SPD-FDP coalition in 1969 came as a surprise to the United States in particular.

Martin Hillenbrand, a former US ambassador to Bonn, said there had been a psychologically difficult situation in Washington at the time.

The Hallstein Doctrine, which America had endorsed for 20 years in Bonn's interest, had suddenly been abandoned by the country that had formulated it.

The Four-Power Agreement, concluded 10 years after the Wall as a result of the changed situation, was felt, despite individual breaches of its terms, to ... been altogether positive.

The Aspen Institute discussion ... vealed that the Berlin talks had ... helped substantially by Moscow's ... est in convening the Helsinki co... ence and the Soviet desire to count... the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion of ... choslovakia by a gesture of good... Berlin.

The relative normalisation of Be... position in the wake of the Four-P... Agreement had not made the ... town like any other, however, it wa... formly agreed.

In Berlin's special circumstan... was particularly important to de... strate its democratic governability.

(Die Welt, 9 Jun...)

The German Tribun...

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In all correspondence please quote yo... number which appears on the wrapper ... asterisks above your address.

HOME AFFAIRS

Tough in power, but nobody wants to be Opposition

...ple who want to be kind to ...nn's CDU/CSU Opposition con... ...e them for being exactly there — ...position.

...concomitant reaction should be ...vernment supporters to urge the ...n to throw in the towel.

... of course, politics doesn't work ...ay. Despite the difficult times, both ...ant power.

...Opposition would rather muddle ...n government rather than mark ...ut of it.

...would the coalition. From their ...of view, what matters is not only ...em, but also to keep the adversary ...taking over.

...e fact is, that, despite the widespread talk of "government fatigue", ...coalition politician thinks of what ...consequences of a change of power ...d be.

...s the coalition's determination to ...on to the reins is stronger than its ...ndency.

...d where there is a will there is a ...In any event, there is no reef in ...at present on which the government would have to founder.

...e left wing pacifists of the SPD in ...Bundestag who feel that they have ...red Schmidt long enough are not ...that strong. When it comes to the ...ch the government still manages to ...pe together a majority.

...hough *this* majority might be very ... indeed, Helmut Schmidt has ...with such a situation well from ...o 1980 and he seems to be doing ...r.

...e party congresses of the two coali... partners are becoming more and ...of a threat.

...en so, Genscher was opposed by ...one-third of the delegates at the ...congress in Cologne when the de... ...to boost Nato defences in Europe ...put to the vote. And even should ...ranks of his opponents swell even ...g, Genscher remains safe for a while.

...the SPD, the going for Schmidt is ...what tougher. In fact, the next ...congress in Munich could well see ...jority against the Nato decision. ...ven should this happen, there are ...ways of circumventing such reso...

...s far from certain that the Chan... ...would have to capitulate in the face ...party congress decision against his ...policy.

...h all due respect, he could simply ...e to go along with the resolution ...say that his responsibility towards ...ment and the people outweighs the ...sibility towards the party.

...this were to happen the SPD would ...ced with the question whether it is ...insisting on party procedures and ...creating a chaos that would topple ...government and put the opposition ...power.

...ny consider it more likely that dis... between the SPD and FDP could ...down the coalition.

... thing stand, the only possible ...ion partner for the SPD is the ... The SPD has, of course, had to ...its price to maintain this coalition, ...t was probably worth it because the ...is a reliable partner.

... the same token, Genscher's party ...every reason to remain a faithful ...Its left wing is determined to keep the conservatives out of government at any cost.

The FDP's right wingers, on the other hand — especially those in the cabinet — feel that governing with the Social Democrats lends them stature while being part of a CDU/CSU cabinet would make them appear colourless and insignificant.

Moreover, both left and right wingers within the FDP, a party that is not particularly close to the working class, are reluctant to join forces with the CDU and thus govern against the SPD, the party of organised labour.

This reluctance is particularly conspicuous in a time of economic decline and fiscal problems, the forerunners of social unrest.

It is indicative that Genscher strictly opposes his party's coalition with the CDU — even in a politically so remote state as the Rhineland-Palatinate.

But no matter how firm the foundations of the Bonn government still appear to be, politically it is teetering on the edge of an abyss because the substance of its governing has been exhausted.

SPA and FDP have followed three major principles since 1969: détente in foreign policy; distribution of money at home regardless of performance and needs; and, finally, the unburdening of the citizen from his duties towards the state and his fellow citizens.

All this is over now. Détente has revealed itself as a blend of Soviet deception and Western self deception. There is no money left to be distributed; in fact, it is the consequences of yesterday's profligacies that now have to be distributed in the form of burdens to be imposed on the people as evenly as possible.

And as to the citizen's rights — the rights of individuals and minorities at the expense of the community as a whole — a limit has been reached that cannot be exceeded without paralysing the state and disintegrating society.

The coalition will thus have to draft a new policy if it is to remain in government. And the opposition, should it one day come to power, would have to start off with a new policy if its governing is not to be a fleeting interlude.

Johann Georg Reissmüller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 June 1981)



A difference of approach ... CDU leader Helmut Kohl (left) with party secretary general Heiner Geissler. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Solution in sight to long-running CDU conflict over image

A long-running conflict in the CDU involving what image it should project is close to being solved, according to party sources.

The point is whether the conservatives should present a united front on all issues, or if there should be room for differing views on some.

At the heart of the matter are the party's chairman, Helmut Kohl, and the secretary general, Heiner Geissler.

Kohl wants a public image of unity. Geisler, his eyes clearly on undecided voters, wants controversial issues to be discussed.

The key to the solution appears to be Ulf Fink, who was the national CDU secretary until recently when he became a senator in Berlin.

Herr Fink was to a large extent responsible for keeping the issue going. He and Herr Kohl did not manage to estalish a rapport.

Herr Fink's replacement in Bonn is Hans Terlinden, secretary of the Rhineland-Palatinate branch of the party, and a man close to Herr Kohl and who has a good relationship with Herr Geisler.

But this in itself won't settle the conflict. One of the reasons for the differences lies in the functions of the people concerned: Kohl, who is more an opposition than a party leader, is interested in a streamlined and effective opposition in parliament.

And since the two government parties have a hard time coping with dissidents among their own ranks, a united opposition front would obviously be to Kohl's benefit.

Geissler, on the other hand, a sort of party leader behind the scenes, wants to ensure the CDU's attractiveness to critical swing voters.

Gone are the days when this could be achieved by presenting a picture of absolute unity.

So far, the conservatives have not yet earnestly discussed such major issues as nuclear energy, Nato modernisation, the peace movement in general and other key issues.

The factions within the CDU, above all the *Junge Union* (young members branch), see no necessity for an intensive debate of these controversial issues because the party members are by and large agreed on them anyway.

But there are other topics such as arms exports, the financing of pensions under the social security system, the review of subsidies and reforms of working hours which the conservatives are quite anxious to discuss, says the leader of the *Junge Union*, Mathias Wissmann.

Wissmann sees a rapprochement between Kohl and Geissler. The forthcoming party congress in Hamburg, says Wissmann, is in fact intended as a debating congress.

Even so, many CDU politicians hold thhat it will take a great deal of patience for the party boss and his secretary-general to settle their differences — differences that are frequently aired rather noisily.

The two men have been close personal friends for a number of years, and it is this relationship that has prevented the conflict from becoming a political issue.

Fink's move to Berlin — he recently published a study on the CDU's lack of support among young people which angered Kohl — is likely to greatly defuse the tension between Kohl and Geissler, according to a leading CDU man.

Rolf Clement

(Mannheimer Morgen, 11 June 1981)

SPD politicians call on party to close its ranks

Leading SPD politicians are reiterating calls for party unity.

National secretary Peter Glotz says that the next few months will decide whether the SPD remains in government or not.

He told the East Westphalia-Lippe congress in Gütersloh that the various factions within the party were "engaged in vengeful campaigns".

In its present difficulties, the party could ill afford "these pinpricks from all sides".

Deputy SPD Chairman Hans-Jürgen Wieschnewski says the party faces a serious test.

He told the congress of the Lehr/Ostfriesland sub district that the SPD now had to prove that it waas capable of weathering a storm.

He called for solidarity, though he stressed that this did not mean eliminating criticism within the party.

Former Berlin Mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel told the South Hesse SPD congress that he could see "neither a complete victory of those who — if only out of habit — stuck to their growth philosophy nor of those who demand an immediate change of course and therefore reject all relevant projects."

A complete victory of the latter would soon relegate the SPD to the opposition benches.

dpa

(Mannheimer Morgen, 15 June 1981)

■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

The day Russian tanks bulldozed the strikers

June 17, the Day of National Unity, is our only national holiday.

Yet the events of June 17 1953 have nothing to do with the German striving for unity.

It was something entirely different that prompted the construction workers in East Berlin to go on strike and organise a protest march to the Brandenburg Gate.

The 17 June uprising in the other Germany was aimed at shaking off excessive production quotas for workers and at obtaining better living conditions in general.

The 17 million Germans in the GDR, unlike their fellow countrymen in the West, were burdened with reparations to the Soviet Union to the tune of between 50bn and 100bn marks.

Pressure from the Soviet occupation power and the communist regime installed by it imposed an intolerable burden on the working population.

The Russians had suffered badly from the Hitler war.

The events of that day in the Soviet occupied part of Germany can best be compared with the beginnings of Lech Walesa's trade union movement in Poland last year.

In Berlin events started as a rebellion against excessive work quotas coupled with a low standard of living.

But the protest soon acquired a political dimension of such proportions that it endangered the Russian-supported communist regime.

The big brother in Moscow was thus faced with the possibility that an internal conflict could get out of hand and so lead to a global shift in the balance of power.

June 1953 in East Berlin differed little from 1956 in Budapest, 1968 in Prague and 1981 in Warsaw.

The fact that young East Berliners removed the red flag from the Brandenburg Gate and replaced it with the black, red and gold of West Germany might have appeared as a national signal.

But the uprising was quelled by Soviet tanks with several hundred head in their wake.

This is hardly a reason to celebrate and have a memorial day which, in West Germany, is used for picnics and is regarded by workers as time off by right.

It is therefore perfectly consistent that the United Nations refused to register 17 June as a national holiday on the grounds that it should be a day of mourning.

In the 28 Years since 1953 we have made little progress towards national unity despite all efforts to normalise relations with the other Germany.

What we regard as international relations of a "special kind" is being depicted by the GDR as the neighbourship of two states which regard each other as foreign countries.

The demarcation line negotiated in Yalta and Potsdam has become a national border behind which the communist government has entrenched itself, complete with mines and boobytraps.

The Basic Treaty between the two German states has made visits back and forth possible under certain conditions, though the traffic is largely one-way: from West to East.

GDR leader Erich Honecker sees a possibility of national unity but only under a communist regime.

Bonn politicians, on the other hand, see such a reunification as something that can be achieved in some distant future — and even then only as part of a larger European union.



Workers' paradise . . . Russian tanks in East Berlin in June 1953.

This probably coincides with the ideas of the other European states who still view a united Germany with considerable mistrust.

The old dream of German unity was political reality for a very short time only — at least compared with more than a thousand years of German history.

The German Reich under Bismarck and Prussian dominance did not include the Austrian Germans who were kept out of it by a German-German war.

Hitler's policy of conquest resulted in the fragmentation of Germany and the splitting of Europe.

National unity as taken for granted by France and Britain is hardly imagineable for Germany.

And, such a unity has no tradition considering the rivalries of the earlier principalities.

Nobody knows whether a development from a federal German state to a federal European state is feasible. As a result, there is much room for pondering the meaningfulness of German unity.

Walter Löckel

(Allgemeine Zeitung, 16 June 1981)

The lessons of 17 June

On 9 June 1953 the Politburo of Germany's Communist Party claimed a "New Course" for the tried people of the GDR who w[illegible] waiting for the first fruits of [illegible]nism.

The beginning of that year [illegible] drastic shortages of basic foodstu[illegible] now Walter Ulbricht demanded "new course" to meet reparatio[illegible] being paid to the Soviets.

As a result, work quotas were [illegible] by 10 per cent which meant 30 p[illegible] lower wages — and that in conju[illegible] with a dropping standard of living.

On 16 June, a number of constru[illegible]tion gangs met on Stalinallee to discu[illegible] the new measures. In the course of discussion they decided on a pro[illegible] march to the Labour Ministry.

The demonstration turned into [illegible]tional uprising that spread to many [illegible] of the GDR.

The workers proclaimed a [illegible] strike for the following day and [illegible] that day — 17 June — came [illegible] increased work quota was, they de[illegible] just a pretext.

The workers marched to the Bra[illegible]burg Gate, tore down the red fla[illegible] called for the toppling of the pupp[illegible]gime, demanding freedom.

Communist officials, fearing the [illegible] the people, removed their party b[illegible] while policemen threw away their [illegible] and joined the demonstrators.

Ulbricht and the other party [illegible] did not even attempt to talk to the [illegible]ple but fled to Russian barracks.

Shortly afterwards, Russian [illegible] quelled the rebellion condoned by [illegible] who to this day maintain that the[illegible] mote the interests of the workers.

The unarmed people tried in [illegible] defend themselves with clubs, [illegible] and bare hands.

The uprising ended with machine[illegible] fire, mass arrests and executions, [illegible] 500 dead in its wake.

In the free part of Germany, th[illegible]tional holiday on 17 June barely [illegible]vived the efforts of a number of [illegible]cians to delete it from the calenda[illegible] day of mourning and commemora[illegible]

Today, it is a "Day of (lost) Ge[illegible] Unity" reminding us of the Consti[illegible] which makes it a duty for all Ge[illegible] never to forfeit their right to self-[illegible]mination.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 16 J[illegible])

The term "nationhood" is many-faceted. "Nation" is neither an archetypical natural phenomenon nor is it tantamount to "people" nor does it necessarily require a political union.

Formula for nationhood

The term "cultural nation", symbolising identity of language and cultural traditions, is independent of national frontiers. It is only the term "state nation" that relates to a common state and political development, though even this term is not *a priori* clear.

A state like Prussia the way it understood itself was never a nation because nationhood calls for national consciousness and is thus essentially a product of the modern age, largely created by the French Revolution.

For Disraeli, nation was a "work of art and time", marked by a cohesive political system which the people adopted in a feeling of community.

Though not "eternal" and yet not interchangeable at will, a nation cannot tolerate a sequence of different systems of state and government.

For Germany, nationhood came about with the Reich.

This creation of Bismarck's was seen by the Germans — in spite of local loyalties and the exclusion of Austria — as a national state.

The Weimar Republic and early National Socialism substantiated what has grown historically.

Even Hitler's monstrous ultimate objective of a "Grand German Reich of a German Nation" reflected something that had become second nature, i.e. national consciousness and the Reich idea. But the "Führer's" unbridled imperialism destroyed both national consciousness and the Reich.

It was not until years after the collapse in 1945 that the Germans once more dared to speak of nationhood.

For the Federal Republic of Germany, the term "nation" long meant the Germany within the borders of 31 December 1937; in other words: the Reich without the conquests of Adolf Hitler.

Today, after the treaties with the East Bloc, the area encompassed by the nation has shrunk to the remaining parts of Germany.

The sights have been lowered to the present two Germanies and their reunification — and even this hope is barely still alive in the face of bitter realities.

Thus nation means a Germany as far as the Oder River, which is no violation of the West German Constitution that does not speak of specific territories when referring to nationhood.

The Bonn government established a Ministry for Intra-German Affairs, and by refusing to recognise two German citizenships it strengthens the feeling of oneness which Bonn considers still alive in the two Germanies.

But the Bonn government prefers not to comment on whether or not it makes the reunification of Germany contingent on social concepts. At least outwardly, it is other criteria that should govern national unity.

The GDR would also like to see Germany reunited, and it, too, sees Germany extending to the Oder River.

Germany's political left — despite internationalistic ideology — has always held a powerful all-German nation in high esteem. Patriotism was an elemental force that could not be denied with impunity.

Even Otto Grotewohl frankly admitted that he would rather be jobless in a reunited Germany than prime minister of a German fragment state.

Such ideas are perhaps still alive, but they now go hand in hand with hegemonial considerations.

Nationhood in terms of reunification is a question of class struggle for the GDR. And in the light of its dogma such a class struggle enjoys top priority. Thus a reunited Germany can only be a communist Germany.

And as long as this goal remains unattainable East Germany will continue to

Continued on page 5

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

In search of the moral dividing line between church and secular world

There are Protestants who call themselves Evangelicals who would at all costs to keep the Church out [illegible]orldly affairs.

They and the radical conservative No [illegible]er Gospel group denounce the [illegible]ch's lay assemblies as the work of [illegible] Devil and would never, as a matter [illegible] deliberate protest, dream of attending.

They may fear the Lord but they also [illegible] to fear everything else in the [illegible] too. Yet is the Church really shaken to its foundations by staying wide [illegible] to outside influence?

Is it a betrayal of the Gospel spirit for [illegible] to be not only only prayers, hymns [illegible] sermons but also mention made at [illegible]urch assemblies of hardship suffered [illegible]und the world?

The 19th German Protestant Assembly in Hamburg was certainly no closed shop.

Church assemblies have always been [illegible] opportunity for the laity's grass roots [illegible] voice their views and have their say, [illegible]cluding those who aim to misuse the Protestant rostrum to lodge an arguably [illegible]-Christian, purely political protest.

Many of the 120,000 Protestants at the Hamburg gathering were young people determined to speak out against missile modernisation.

As Protestants they could equally well claim to be following in Martin Luther's footsteps or to be relying on the Biblical exhortation to render unto Caesar that [illegible]ch is Caesar's.

Luther, founding father of the Re[illegible]mation and a rebel against inordinate [illegible]thority, is always good for a mention.

While unerringly calling for the Free[illegible]m of Christianity he nonetheless fa[illegible]oured due obedience on the subject's [illegible] towards a ruler ordained by God.

In heated debates on war and peace, [illegible] and disarmament the basic issue is [illegible] the Church is entitled to do and [illegible] it ought to do when commenting [illegible] public on secular issues.

It is an age-old controversy that was [illegible] a new lease of life by strongly-[illegible]ced views of Bonn Chancellor Hel[illegible] Schmidt just before the Hamburg [illegible]thering.

The Chancellor's caustic comments [illegible] echoed by Bishop Lohse of Hano[illegible], who is council chairman of the German Protestant Church.

Helmut Schmidt rapped cut-and-dried [illegible]al philosophers and Sermon on the [illegible]nt pacifists who infected others [illegible] their anxiety because they were in[illegible]pable of prayer.

Dr Lohse agreed, drawing a clear dis[illegible]ction between his own viewpoint and [illegible] of political hotheads among theologians and members of the clergy [illegible]ich were largely to blame for the dis[illegible]ted view of the Church among the general public.

But schoolmasterly corrections and [illegible] simplifications are unlikely to settle matters.

Kurt Schumacher, post-war leader of Chancellor Schmidt's Social Democrats, [illegible]stified to a realisation of this when, after the war, he said many people had joined the SPD as a result of the Sermon on the Mount.

Helmut Simon, a Karlsruhe Constitutional Court judge and member of the Church Assembly presidium, saw fit to contradict fellow-Protestant Helmut Schmidt.

The Church, he said, could not simply surrender its share in responsibility for the religious struggle during the Third Reich.

It could not merely beat a retreat to the hereafter and leave the here and now to the tender mercies of politicians.

One reason why it could not do so was because there had never been a clear dividing line between the sacred and the profane, the Church and the world at large.

Christ did not live and work in a vacuum, and certainly not on some remote island of the blessed.

Another was that the Church, even when it kept strictly to Church affairs, had always formed part of a decidedly political world.

A politician motivated by what he feels to be a sense of responsibility may find it hard to come to terms with the moral philosophy of the Sermon on the Mount, with its message of Love Thine Enemy.

In view of Soviet missile firepower he may well feel there is little or nothing he can do with this tenet of Christian belief.

But there is no reason why that should stop the Church, theologians, clergymen and rank-and-file Christians from measuring political activity by the yardstick of a Christian conscience.

This is certainly not the reason why sermons are preached to empty churches, as Chancellor Schmidt suspected, and the Church has by no means gone to the Devil, as traditionalists who equate its pastoral mission with political celibacy fear.

The Church would be paralysed by soul-searching were it to set greater store by strict adherence to the sacraments than to caring for the faithful as they wonder what a God-forsaken world we live in where more and more arms are manufactured and more and more children face starvation.

Those whose worriedly advise their Church to stick to its last, or in other words limit itself to the literal propagation of the gospel, accuse it in the same breath of political failure.

The Church stands accused of blessing the weaponry of the armed forces as in the Kaiser's days. It is also accused of sharing guilt and blame by virtue of its silence, as in the Third Reich.

Yet in common with politicians who look askance at the Church they are all in favour of its helpful contributions to the course of events, such as the *Ostdenkschrift*, or memorandum on ties with Eastern Europe.

They also laud the unflinching public protest of Protestant Church synods in the GDR against military affairs as a compulsory subject at East German schools.

The Protestant Church in the GDR is also praised for its steadfast opposition to manoeuvre reports in East Berlin newspapers written as though the country were on a war footing.

Yet oddly enough, the very same people who are fulsome in their praise of the GDR bishops' staunch rejection of the arms race as a courageous Christian deed condemn the corresponding view when voiced in this country.

When West German churchmen sound a warning against deploying new missiles they are condemned for impertinent, ill-considered interference in political affairs. Which is it to be then?

The Church, or so the worriers argue, ought only to concern itself with politics, and then only to sound a warning note or perform a watchdog role, where its own concerns are at stake.

It must thus only join in the debate when the future of the family as an institution is at stake, for instance, or in connection with abortion law reform.

Its role is strictly to be limited to the debate on fundamentals, such as the values that guide moral philosophy.

At the same time it naturally must lend the state a hand in running and helping to solve social problems by means of kindergartens, hospitals and old folks' homes.

These it may run independently but as an acknowledged partner of the state, albeit a junior partner.

If, on the other hand, a clergyman in his dog-collar holds a service for demonstrators at the barbed-wire fence surrounding the site of the proposed Brokdorf nuclear power station, he is said to have overstepped the mark.

If he takes part, dressed in clerical vestments, in a protest march against extensions to Frankfurt airport or, whether in plain clothes or not, in a squat in Kreuzberg, Berlin, he is reckoned to be abusing his Christian mission.

He is misusing his clerical position and is warned in no uncertain terms (even though all he has done is himself to sound a warning note).

This is the point at which both the bishops and the politicians proclaim in unison that the cobbler must stick to his last and the Church to the Gospel.

Take, for instance, the case of Bishop Scharf of Berlin. At the height of the student unrest in the late 60s Kurt Scharf's personal intervention virtually prevented the outbreak of little short of civil war.

Yet later, when Ulrike Meinhof, the terrorist, asked him to visit her in her prison cell and he agreed to do so for pastoral reasons he was promptly suspected of being hand in glove with the Red Army Faction urban guerrillas.

Reds under the bed were babes-in-arms in comparison. The idea of Kurt Scharf smuggling hand-grenades into gaol so upset people that a substantial number quit the Protestant Church as a result.

The Federal Republic is not a country with an ideology imposed from above. Luckily, we live in a society where there is a choice of religion and the state is ideologically neutral.

It is a state in which the Church is free, and its freedom is both embodied in Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn constitution, and in special treaties. Yet Church and state often make life hard for each other.

Limits must, of course, be observed. The state cannot be expected to tolerate clergymen who at election times tell their congregations from the pulpit to vote for a specific party.

The Church cannot be expected to accept MPs running the parsonage part-time, as it were. It would certainly be untrue to itself if it were to allow Communist Party members to work as clergymen.

This seems reasonable inasmuch as Communist clerics might be under Party orders to agitate rather than preach.

Yet might it not be possible to call a halt to the arms race by unilaterally disarming, at least in part and on the understanding that others will follow suit?

And might it not be in the interest of loving one's neighbour to consider or propose the idea as a Christian?

It is too easy to dub Jesus as the first social revolutionary in history, but it would also be too simple to reduce him and his work to the adage: "My kingdom is not of this world."

This would be tantamount to ruling out any Church criticism or objection to worldly events. Roman Catholic theologian Johann Baptist Metz rightly noted that someone who was politically neutral would not have been crucified.

The Church owes its existence to belief, but it also lives in the world, is continually challenged by worldly events and politics.

Burgomaster Hans Koschnick of Bremen did not take long to explain why he too, as a Social Democrat, did not share the Chancellor's sentiments about the Church.

"It cannot be the Christian's duty," he said, "merely to prepare for the hereafter."

The Church may respond to the course of world events with what Kurt Scharf termed a political view of the pastoral mission. In South America and elsewhere in the world it may even endorse a theology of liberation.

But it can also silently tolerate what goes on around it, retreat into its ivory tower and leave everything to the Lord. This too is a political outlook, albeit a negative one.

The Church conceded this point in its 1945 Stuttgart admission of guilt:

"We accuse ourselves of not having professed the creed more courageously, of not having prayed more faithfully, of not having believed more happily and not having loved more ardently."

A Church that is of this world is like the world itself, often at loggerheads, riddled by conflict, shaken by crises, upset by confrontations.

It would be betraying its trust if it were to promote an inner emigration and piety responsible to no-one but itself.

It would be denying its purpose if it were to be no more than a Sunday Church.

This too is very much part and parcel of the Church's role. The slogan of the Hamburg Protestant Church Assembly was Don't Be Afraid, or, in the words of the Bible, Fear Not.

It was entirely appropriate for the Church in this day and age.

Dietrich Strothmann

(Die Zeit, 19 June 1981)

Continued from page 4

isolate itself as the one socialist state of the German nation.

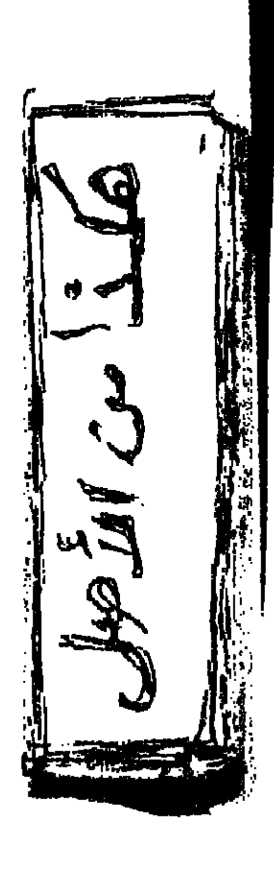
Such a formula, no matter how painful and in many ways crazy, is not intended as a provisional solution.

The German Democratic Republic can live with it because the chances of a united Germany under communism are small since this would confront the Soviet Union with considerable problems.

No matter what out future definition of the term "nationhood" with regard to Germany, such labels as "socialist" and "capitalist" will always be the least useful.

Bodo Scheurig

(Der Tagesspiegel, 17 June 1981)



■ FINANCE

Making that money pay dividends

We all know it takes money to make money. But delegates to the International Investment Congress Munich '81 were given detailed instruction on how to go about it.

Stock issues in Germany are often oversubscribed. So money and people willing to invest it is not the problem.

The money that finds its way to the stock exchange is a known quantity. But it is impossible even to estimate how much money goes to the "grey capital market" year after year.

Vast sums are invested in deals that are frequently shady. Take the many companies that deal in tax write-offs which last year alone handled DM4bn worth of investments using their own capital, not to mention other people's money that went through their hands.

Add to this the deals in commodity futures, penny stocks, foreign real estate and other investments that did not go through the respectable companies that are members of the Association for the Promotion of Tax Relief Investments and you arrive at a staggering amount.

It therefore stands to reason that there is ample money around to subscribe new stock issues.

Bernt Ertl, manager of Portfolio Management, Munich, therefore advocated new stock issues to be traded on German stock exchanges.

The trouble is that many businessmen are reluctant to go to the stock exohange for financing because they fear that going public is tantamount to losing independence.

Going public was one of the main topics at the congress organised by Peter Hellerich, the founder of Portfolio Management, who subsequently spent years as a financial adviser in Asia and America.

Ertl told the congress he was convinced that German businessmen would go to the stock exchange for capital if they could be made to shed their fear of losing their independence.

The obvious solution, he said, was preferred stock, which carries no voting rights. After all, Herr Ertl stressed, the investors are more interested in making money than in having a say in the company.

Axel Schmidtke of Roland Berger & Partner, Munich, suggested another concept: the risk capital pool, a sort of fund for the financing of new technologies in ascending companies. This would be an approach similar to growth financing projects with the help of government funds.

Still, it is far from certain that such schemes can impart new life to German stock exchanges.

Corporate lawyer Lois Erdl, board member of the German Protective Association for Holders of Securities, Düsseldorf, said that stockholdings as a long term investment must be viewed with reservations but that this does not apply to short term speculation.

With it all, he considered that the future of stock as a classical means of financing was bleak in Germany.

Roland Leuschel of Bank Bruxelles Lambert, Brussels, told the delegates that Europe would find itself at the tail end in the struggle for capital that will reach its climax in the 1980s — if for no other reason due to the shortage of raw materials and the problems in financing rising energy costs with all the private and public sector indebtedness that goes with it.

But then, Leuschel is known for his somewhat apocalyptic views. As he sees it, the investor should put his money on short-term deals only and keep his capital available as contingency money should a post-crisis situation similar to that after the last war arise.

There was a wide range of views at the congress. The three dozen or so speakers who addressed the 400 participants were, however, all pessimistic about long-term investments in Western Europe in varying degrees, depending on where they came from and what their specialty was.

Even so, Europe's investment potential was not written off.

Portfolio manager Günter Mecklenburg of the BHF Bank, Frankfurt, saw some good opportunities in Spain and Sweden.

Montague Guild Jr, president of Guild Investment Management Inc., California, manages some $200m worth of portfolios. Guild, one of the rare breed who has never showed a decline in the portfolios managed by him, stakes his hopes for the USA on new technologies, video tapes, cable TV, telecommunications, robot manufacture and defence stock.

For the rest, he prefers to invest in Japan, Singapore and Australia due to technical developments and rapidly growing markets or raw materials.

The dollar, he says, will remain firm though its rise against other currencies will slow down.

As he sees it, only Switzerland and the Federal Republic of Germany are still interesting to investors in European securities.

Gold was declining and would settle at between $380 and $480 an ounce.

Incidentally, it has always been Guild's principle to go the whole hog when investing. Putting your eggs in many baskets only waters down the profits.

The maximum gold is likely to achieve, he says, is $600 an ounce; and those who still talk of the magic $1,000 mark are dreamers.

Elgin H. Joos, of the Rothschiuld Bank, Zurich, shares this scepticism.

The heavy rise in the gold price in 1979/80, he says, induced speculators to get rid of their hoards and has led to a decline of private purchases.

Right now, only central banks still remain as buyers of any note. Those who speculate on shortages could well burn their fingers.

Though the annual gold production amounts to about $20bn and is thus only a fraction of global annual investments in gold, there is nevertheless plenty of gold around. This is because the recycling of gold functions 100 per cent.

The golden wedding band of today could well contain the gold of the pharaohs or the Incas.

Massive increases in the gold price due to political crises would soon be halted due to people wanting to cash in on their hoards.

Diamonds are something else, if the German diamond queen Susann Lange-Mechlen of the Diamond Corp., Stuttgart, is is anything to go by, because the decline in prices has now been stopped.

A one-carat stone (river, clean, good cut) has dropped from its peak in October 1980 when it was traded at DM75,000 to DM80,000 to DM60,000; but it is still worth ten times the 1970 price (DM6,000).

The price has now gone up again because Harry Oppenheimer's Central Selling Organisation (CSO) is holding back on the bigger stones to boost prices.

Insiders have turned their backs on gold, silver and iamonds and are now speculating with strategic metals — an uncertain commodity for political reasons and due to their limited availability.

The Reagan Administration intends to stockpile these metals which range from antimony to vanadium. But they are being traded in in commodity futures deals and are therefore en vogue, says James E. Sinclair of Sinclair Comp., USA.

Frederick Horn, of Bache Halsey Stuart Shields Inc., Munich, said that there were now computer programs for run-of-the-mill futures like wheat, maize, pork, gold and treasury bills — and so far the computer has always won: 208 per cent profit in a matter of a few months.

The computer buys and sells or simply stays on the market — yet whatever it does it makes money for the investors.

The use of the computer costs $20,000, yet there is a huge waiting list because the program is limited.

A new program, said Gerald E. Wetzlar of Bache, is now being prepared in the vestibule of the Congress Hall at the Munich Hilton.

The congress had a great deal to offer — but then, it was expensive at DM994.

After the day's hard work there were congenial parties for personal contact with the experts.

Curiously, people with the really big money did not attend nor were the German banks represented (with one exception).

The congress also served as a marketplace. Among the investment objects offered were farms in America with a heavy emphasis on fruit farms, primarily almonds and jojoba plantations (jojoba is the new magic bean for investors in agriculture with profits far above soya beans).

Industrial participation in America was also on offer through the *Participation Gesellschaft für Industriebeteiligungen*, Düsseldorf, which has evolved a special and attractive participation model.

Among the objects on offer were the Helmsley Palace Luxury Hotel in New York, a 51-storey structure whose $75m investment has largely come from German investors.

Another hotel offered on the same basis is the Hyatt Hotel near Cologne.

Geza von Habsburg of Christie's a great-grandson of Kaiser Franz Josef, offered advice on investements in art while others promoted coin collections and investment in historical securities.

Hellerich, the organiser, intends to hold similar congresses at least once a year, the next one again in Munich next year.

Perhaps German banks will go next time.

They could do their part in stemming the outflow of capital from Germany bemoaned by Count Sixtus Plettenberg.

Wolfram Pohl

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 15 June 1981)

Investment will drop, says crystal ball

A drop in investments is already in the pipeline because of anticipated drop in demand for capital goods, says the HWWA Institute for Economic Research in Hamburg.

It puts much of the blame on high interest rates.

At the moment demand for capital goods is fairly stable. So production is being maintained, with many businessmen pinning their hopes on product innovation.

However, the latest rise in interest rates has increased the profit threshold still further — and lessened the willingness to invest.

Though interest is not the main factor in planning investments it can nevertheless become a decisive element in the decision whether to invest or postpone it. The cost-of-money element must therefore not be underestimated.

There is another aspect that should be taken into account: if interest rates are high and business prospects uncertain it becomes more attractive for the potential investor to put his money into securities than into plant and machinery.

HWWA holds out little hope for lower interest rates in the immediate future. Prospects would only improve once the USA lowers its interest rates.

A further element of uncertainty is the increasing strain on capital markets due to public sector borrowing.

As HWWA sees it, there is no telling at the moment whether interest rates will go down in time to prevent a heavy drop in investments.

There are, however, other elements that encourage investement, among them demand from abroad and the need to introduce new manufacturing processes and products due to rising energy prices.

This, says HWWA, gives rise to some hope that business will continue to orientate its investment decisions on short-term sales and profit prospects. Should this hope be fulfilled, the drop in investments will not be too dramatic.

HWWA criticises Bonn's programme for investment credits through the Bank for Reconstruction.

The programme provides for a total credit volume at subsidised interest rates of DM6.3bn for specific investment projects.

Experience shows, however, that such programmes are not very cost effective. And many of those who use the benefits would have invested anyway.

This is borne out by the fact that the programme promotes investment projects which are anyway the backbone of current investment activities, i.e. investments for energy and raw materials savings and for product and process innovations.

The consolidation of public sector budgets is also hampered by the scheme because Bonn has to provide DM... to subsidise interest on loans under the programme.

And, finally, says HWWA, it is inconsistent to subsidise loans at the very moment when subsidies are coming up for review.

(Handelsblatt, 11 June 1981)

TRADE

Tank deal 'not crucial' to Bonn-Riyadh links





Germany's relations with Saudi Arabia do not hang on the issue of ...ard II tanks, says Hans-Otto Thierbach, chairman of the Middle East Association, a business interest group.

...Bonn must make a quick decision whether or not to supply the tanks, ...i Arabia has been annoyed by the ...ths of indecision, he said.

...Thierbach was addressing a press conference in Bonn.

Another speaker, Reinhold Brauns, of ...ups AG, said that if the tanks were supplied, relations with the Saudis ...d become strained, but they would ...in nevertheless.

...us von Menges, of Ferrostaal, in ...n, said the Saudis did expect to be ...fied with "something" from Bonn, ...ably defensive weapons.

By supplying these, Bonn could show that it took Saudi Arabia's security interests seriously.

The association could not confirm that Riyadh is already holding back on credits and orders involving German firms.

But German companies are nervous because of the long delay in signing contracts that have already been negotiated.

But Thierbach said, that even if Germany were to supply the tanks, German companies could only expect orders for goods if they were competitive.

The five-year plans of the region that extends from Turkey to Pakistan and from Afghanistan to the Yemen (excluding Israel) add up to about $759bn, half of which is accounted for by Saudi Arabia, the press was told.

Despite the oil price increase, there are signs that this year's trade with these countries will be balanced.

German exports to the region rose by 18 per cent in the first quarter of this year (overall export 1.8 per cent) while imports dropped by 3 per cent.

The range of German goods that coincides with the investment needs of the Opec countries greatly contributed in the years immediately following the 1973/74 oil crisis towards enabling Germany to hike its share of the Western industrial nations' total exports to the region to 17.5 per cent by 1977.

By 1980 this figure was down to 13.1 per cent due to the drastic reduction of shipments to Iran, which used to be the region's biggest buyer of German goods.

But the fact that the Opec countries have stepped up their imports of high quality consumer goods also plays a role. Thierbach estimates the ratio of consumer goods at 30 to 35 per cent of total imports.

West Germany is less competitive than other industrial countries (like Japan) than it is with capital goods.

Thierbach says that German companies should make use of the opportunities in the consumer goods sector.

Thierbach pointed to the fact that the region's oil reserves are good for another 40 years and that during that time there will be plenty of money with which to pay for imports.

The competition for these markets has become stiffer — and not only due to the Japanese export drive.

In the construction sector, South Korea and the Philippines have chalked up considerable successes, though German companies are doing well where technically sophisticated construction is concerned.

Said Thierbach: "If the Middle East remains peaceful it will be a major trading partner for Germany."

Sixteen per cent of the EEC's foreign trade is accounted for by this region, compared with 14 per cent for the USA and 3 per cent for Japan.

Hans J. Mahnke

(Die Welt, 11 June 1981)

Krupp Steel adjusts cutback plan

Krupp Steel AG, Bochum, has restructured its restructuring programme.

A new concept adopted a week or so ago against the vote of one of the Works Council members provides for a change in plans to the effect that the number of jobs to become redundant by ... will be reduced from 5,300 to ..., primarily in the regions of Hagen, Bochum and Duisburg-Rheinhausen.

Moreover, the two rolling mills in ...gen are not to be shut down.

The Iranian member of the Supervisory Board, Minister Without Portfolio ...navi, told the press in Bonn that his ...ably played a major roße in bringing about the new concept.

...an was more concerned with the lot of the workers than with financial interests.

A high ranking representative of the Metalworkers Union countered this by ...ng that the Iranian representative ...uld permit unions in his own country before concerning himself with the ...ests of German workers.

There will be no dismissals at all ... the new programme. The redundancies will be created by not replacing ...ers who retire or leave the company ... some other reason.

The production programme is to be ...ained and modernisations are to be carried out by 1985. The package is expected to cost about DM500m.

The new concept was put before the board on 12 May, but at that time the Iranian representative said he could not go along because he had not had the time to study the programme in detail.

As a result, the board did not vote on the issue at the time. (Iran has a 25 per cent stake in Krupp.)

...eravi said in Bonn that he refused to go along on 12 May because the ...kers had not been consulted. He therefore asked for time to study the plan, whereupon some board members flew to Tehran and provided him with additional information.

Leonhard Spielhofer and Wolfgang Koch

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 June 1981)

EEC trade with Japan 1970—1980

In millions of US dollars

Exports to Japan

Imports from Japan

1970: 1378 | 1649

1980: 6292 | 16943

1980 (Exports to Japan): 2184, 1381, 1052, 684, 991

1980 (Imports from Japan): Fed. Rep. Germany 5372, Britain 4163, France 2697, Italy 1238, Others 3473

ZAHLENBILDER 0738 490

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Probe into collapse of Tehran town-for-soldiers project

A DM420m housing project built by a Hamburg City-owned construction company in Tehran has turned into a semi-finished ghost town.

The project, commissioned under the Shah regime and intended to house 6,600 soldiers, was carried out by the Hamburg City Development Co (HSTG).

Since the company is largely owned by the City of Hamburg, an enquiry into the affair was inevitable.

The investigation committee set up at the instigation of the CDU has come up with its first findings which put considerable blame on the SPD and FDP (which jointly governed the city at the time the contract was concluded).

Some say that the HSTG debacle played a role in Mayor Hans-Ulrich Klose's decision to resign. The then finance senator, Hans-Joachim Seeler, and ex-Construction Senator Rolf Bialas (FDP) are also implicated.

HSTG, which was founded in 1976, is a subsidiary of the city-owned Saga housing company which was originally to have concerned itself with city rehabilitation in Hamburg but branched out for lack of business.

HSTG eventually accepted a deal with the Swiss Mobar Co. which procured the Iranian order that was to generate DM40m in profits.

Despite opposition by SPD legislature members who feared the risks involved in the project and concern expressed by some CDU members, HSTG went ahead.

It was not until one year after Finance Senator Seeler gave his approval that HSTG presented a study on the risks.

It appears that HSTG also failed to check on the reliability of the Elemonta Co., a subcontractor in the deal. An audit in November 1977 revealed "chaotic conditions" in Elemonta's bookkeeping system on site.

The Tehran affair is reminiscent of Berlin's loss of DM115m in the form of guarantees caused by the Berlin construction tycoon Garski some months ago.

The Tehran project collapsed for good after the Shah was deposed.

Thomas Wolgast

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 1 June 1981)

Japan gives word on car exports

Frankfurter Allgemeine
ZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Japan's car exports to Germany this year will not exceed 10 per cent more than last year, Bonn Economics Minister Count Lambsdorff has confirmed.

He had been given this assurance during a visit to Tokyo.

Count Lambsdorff does not think there will be a dramatic change in car exports next year.

At a press conference, he criticised German business attitudes to Japan, which "left a great deal to be desired."

This was due not only to non-tariff trade barriers but also to a "certain lack of interest" in the Japanese market.

"The Japanese won't solve our competition problems," he said. "That's something we have to do ourselves."

He said Japan would not attempt to sell the cars it could not sell to America in Europe. But this, he said, was — though important — not the main issue of his talks in Tokyo.

His main objective was to seek support for continued free trade. He also stressed that he had minced no words in telling Japan that he considered the US-Japanese agreement a "protectionist deal".

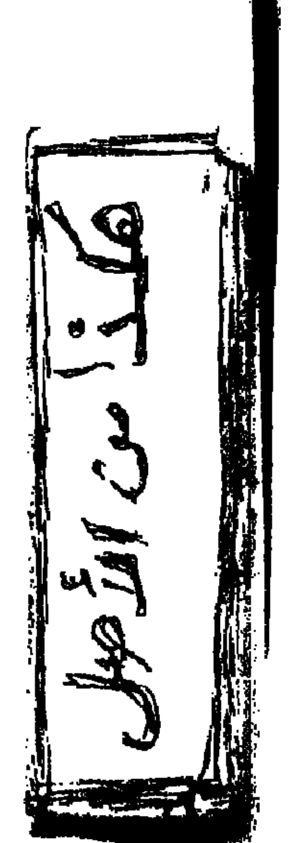
The Washington-Tokyo agreement concerning the restriction of Japan's auto exports to the USA, he said, showed that even strong trading nations could not resist the temptation of bilateral deals at the expense of other countries.

But he was adamant that a trade war between the USA, Japan and the EEC would be harmful to all.

Count Lambsdorff, who also met leading representatives of Japanese and German industry, told the Japanese that he was concerned over Washington's policy of high interest rates.

Referring to free trade, Count Lambsdorff said that the structure of Japan's imports was unacceptable. "50 to 60 per cent raw materials and energy versus only 25 per cent finished products is in the long run unacceptable for such an industrialised country. In similar countries, the ratio of finished products is about 50 to 60 per cent."

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 June 1981)



TECHNOLOGY

Europe's Ariane lifts off after the faults are ironed out

en European countries were associated with this month's launching of Ariane rocket from Kourou in ch Guiana with a payload of two llites, one European, the other Indi-

he launching of Europe's Meteosat India's communications satellite both bound for geostationary was Ariane's third mission.

as six months behind schedule as ult of the failure of the second h bid in May 1980, when, minutes r take-off, the rocket crash-landed in Atlantic.

too had a payload of two satellites, h of which were written off. Immediately commissions of inquiry were set

After months of painstaking investigation they concluded that about six seconds after take-off a fault occurred in of the four motors of the first stage the rocket.

It began in a fuel injection nozzle t started vibrating due to strain at e-off. These vibrations had not been ticed either in countless testbed trials in the first, successful launching.

Sixty-four seconds after take-off, gine failure ensued and the other ree motors fast began to flag in performance. The rocket was eventually orted, exploding automatically.

The pieces crashed into the Atlantic ut 25km (15 miles) away from the ching-pad.

To track down the reasons for the t the engine was retrieved from the low coastal waters off French Guyana for scrutiny. The components that re to blame were then redesigned.

This made more than 50 new testbed s necessary and delayed the launch of the third Ariane rocket for more n six months.

This May 1980 mishap left the ball y much in Europe's court, or rather t of the 10-member European Space ncy, Esa. The remaining two trials d to be a success if the Ariane was to declared ready for use.

Operational efficiency was to be probin a mere four test launchings, with success, one failure and two to go.

Esa had, however, offered interested ties take-off facilities in Ariane's payd bay for these trial launchings, alat the satellite-builders' own risk.

This time the two satellites are Esa's Meteosat 2 and India's experimental al Apple, short for Ariane Passen- Payload Experiment.

Apple is the prototype of an Indian munications satellite intended to dle telephone, TV and communicas links within India in a few years'

It would, for instance, relay TV adcasts to remote areas of the subtinent. Apple is intended for use in ning experience with India's communications network.

It is a fairly small satellite cylindrical shape and 1.20 metres (4ft) tall and in meter. Its take-off weight is 670kg, or 74 lb.

The engine accounts for roughly half weight, having to manoeuvre the ellite into an orbit 35,700km (22,312 les) above sea-level.

In this position it would appear, from vantage-point on earth, to be stationary, since its speed and direction of rotation would tally with that of the planet.

The Ariane L 03's second payload unit was Meteosat 2, designed mainly to relay to earth pictures of meteorological conditions as seen from above.

Like Ariane, Meteosat is a joint venture by the 10 European countries. The first Meteosat was launched in November 1977 and transmitted pictures and measurement data for two years until part of the system was short-circuited.

Several attempts to repair the damage by remote-control radio instructions failed, and millions of European TV viewers had to forgo their satellite photo of the weather over Europe in the evening's met forecast.

This 18-month intermission was to be brought to a close by the new satellite, Meteosat 2, which like its predecessor was to be manoeuvred into a geostationary position 35,700km above Ghana, West Africa.

From this vantage point it can maintain a constant lookout on Europe, parts of Asia as far as the Caspian, Arabia, all Africa, the Atlantic and part of South America.

About once every 25 minutes Meteosat is to take three overall pictures of the area it covers, one in visible light, one in infra-red and another in the infra-red range of steam.

From these three pictures meteorologists are able to reach conclusions on cloud, cloud altitude and movement, surface temperature of the oceans, wind speeds and directions.

Pictures are taken via a telescope 40cm (16 inches) in diameter, the nucleus of the entire device. Each exposure in the various sectors of the spectrum takes 25 minutes, with the camera slowly panning the surface of the earth.

Taking weather photos is only one of the satellite's duties. It can also relay pictures and data from other weather satellites to ground stations in Europe.

Its comsat role similarly extends to relaying to ground control data received from automatic and semi-automatic weather stations around the world.

Meteosat 2 is controlled and supervised from the European Space Observation Centre in Darmstadt via a special dish antenna purpose-built near Michelstadt, about 30km (20 miles) away.

Meteosat is merely part of a worldwide weather observation programme intended to improve long-range forecasting. It includes a European, three US and a Japanese satellite perched over the equator at a seemingly stationary vantage point 35,700km above sea-level.

Between them they cover virtually the entire surface of the globe, supplying a constant stream of meteorological pictures. Each relays pictures of its part of the world. Only the polar regions are not covered.

Despite the May 1980 mishap interest in Ariane remains keen. Between the test phase and 1985 thirteen launchings have already been firmly booked. A further seven reservations have been made.

Esa, the European Space Agency, is also negotiating with other interested parties, including US telephone corporations who may use the European launcher rocket to get their own communications satellites airborne.

So Ariane is in competition with the USA Space Shuttle, which will soon be available for ferrying satellites into orbit.

To ensure Ariane can compete with the Columbus a marketing company was set up last year to sell launching facilities. It operates under the name of Arianespace.

Shares in the company are held by 36 European aerospace firms, 11 European banks and CNES, the French aerospace agency.

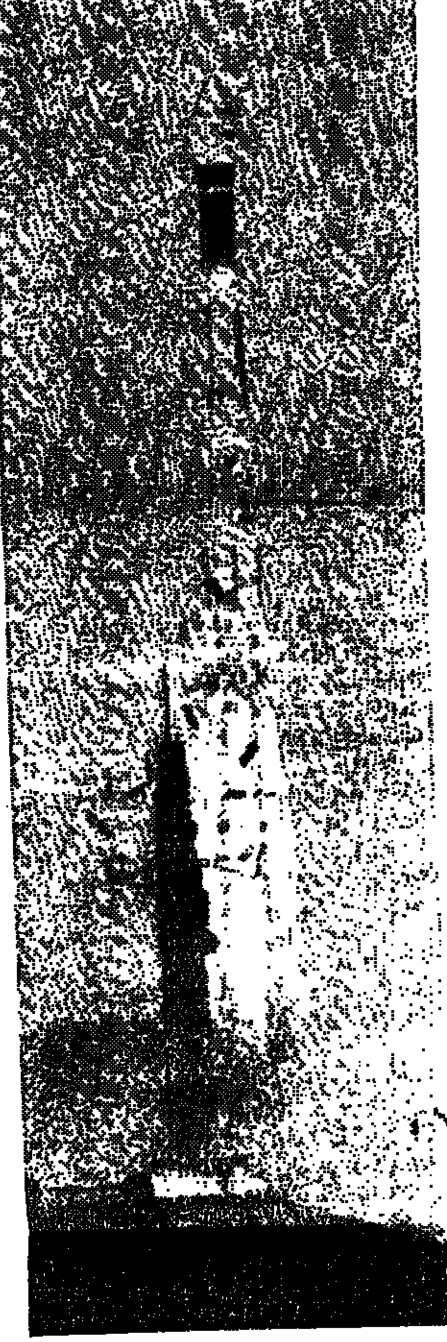
Can Arianespace keep customers interested? That depends on the cost and on confidence in the European launcher rocket.

The Space Shuttle finally made it into orbit after years of mishaps and delays in April. It is now Ariane's turn again to prove its mettle in cosmic competition.

If Meteosat were to flop again, confidence would be dealt a serious blow and Europe would be out of the running for some time.

Wolfgang Brauer

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 13 June 1981)



Blast-off . . . Ariane on the way.

(Photo: dpa)

Astronomical solution world-wide

Radiotelescopes in several continents are to pool data for computer evaluation at the Max Planck Institute of Astronomy, Bonn.

A technique known as very long baseline interferometry, or VLBI, will provide information equivalent to that supplied by a radiotelescope encompassing the entire world.

This will put paid to a traditional shortcoming of conventional radiotelescopes, their poor angular resolving power.

This means their inability to distinguish two separate points in the sky. Despite an antenna diameter of 100 metres, for instance, the Effelsberg radiotelescope, near Bonn, is strictly limited in this respect.

On a two-centimetre wavelength its angular resolving power is only one arc minute. "That is not very much," says Professor Mezger, managing director of the Bonn institute.

"It is precisely the angular resolving power of the human eye. In other words, even with such a large radiotelescope celestial details cannot be made out with much greater accuracy than optically with the naked wye."

To improve the vision of a radiotelescope a dish antenna six kilometres in diameter would need building, and that, says Professor Mezger, would not only be environmental pollution in a category of its own; it would also be financially impossible.

The problem has been solved by simultaneous observation of a celestial object, using atomic timepieces, by radiotelescopes in several continents. Data stored on magnetic tape are then relayed to the Bonn computer for evaluation.

This VLBI technique achieves results equivalent to those that might be obtained using a radiotelescope with an antenna as wide as the distance between the two radiotelescopes furthest apart.

In other words, findings correspond to those notionally obtainable from a radiotelescope spanning the diameter of the world.

So radioastronomers can now take a closer look even at quasars, those strange celestial phenomena 15 billion light years away on the outskirts of the universe.

Because of the length of time their radiation takes to reach us the quasars are, moreover, 15 billion years old, as it were, or rather the information supplied is.

VLBI makes possible an angular resolving power of up to a ten thousandth of an arc second, which is 10,000 times better than the capacity of optical telescopes.

What is more, it can be fully utilised since, unlike optical telescopes, radiotelescopes are not dependent on the vagaries of atmospheric conditions.

VLBI networks have been set up both in North America and in Europe. The European network based on Bonn includes two radiotelescopes operated by the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

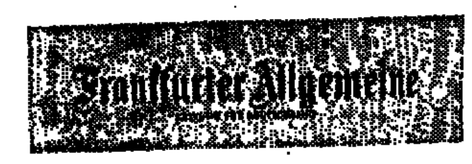
In worldwide hook-ups the Effelsberg radiotelescope plays a crucial role as the point of contact between observation networks in East and West, which from this summer are to include a Chinese radiotelescope too.

Eugen Hintsches

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 June 1981)

■ ARCHITECTURE

A church and a new form of brutalism



St Mary's Neviges, a modern concrete church built in 1968, towers over its small town on the Rhine in a manner most uncharacteristic of church architecture since, say, the Second Vatican Council.

It inevitably drew comparisons with Cologne Cathedral, which for centuries has towered over the city centre of Cologne, and Le Corbusier's Notre Dame du Haut, which dominates Ronchamp from its position on one of the gentle hills overlook ing the town.

Maria Königin des Friedens, the Church of St Mary Queen of Peace, has had to live with such comparisons. It is a concrete fortress and monument to the sacred towering proudly over the profane.

In 1968, when the church was inaugurated, the *Zeitgeist* prompted both praise and criticism of architect Gottfried Böhm; the 60s was a decade in which church architecture developed in an altogether different direction.

In the immediate post-war years the Church in Germany had made do with repairing existing buildings or rebuilding churches in the traditional style.

The Second Vatican Council in 1964 marked a watershed. It led not only to the introduction of a new liturgy and the abandonment of the Tridentine Mass but also to a rethink of church architecture.

The old idea of a church built along axes, with nave and transept, was replaced by that of the central prayer and assembly room for the congregation.

Church architecture was, moreover, to be in keeping with town planning as one dormitory suburb after another was built on the outskirts of towns that had grown organically over the centuries.

In the midst of inhospitable slabs of concrete and plate glass the town planners left room for community facilities, and the Church moved in first, long before others.

Church planners designed new churches for the suburbs even before department stores and other facilities moved in to breathe life into the new communities.

The new churches were billed as congregational centres and intended to be multi-purpose. The House of the Lord became a building like any other. The distinction between the sacred and the profane was abandoned.

St Mary's, Neviges, is a pilgrims' church designed for a purpose other than that of a suburban community centre, yet its towering concrete tent-like appearance was felt at the time to be out of touch with the *Zeitgeist*.



St Mary's, Neviges . . . comparisons with Cologne Cathedral.

Architect Gottfried Böhm had not been expected to design a concrete cathedral, the first German cathedral since the war (since both World Wars, indeed) and probably the last for long years to come.

Until 1955 Böhm worked alongside his father, Dominikus Böhm, the Rhenish church architect. On his father's death he continued designing churches such as the Sacred Heart Church in Cologne or the Wilhelmshöhe Church in Kassel.

St Gertrude's in Cologne, built in the middle of a new suburb short on character, was a church designed not as a multi-purpose meeting hall but first and foremost as a Church building to dominate the district.

In Neviges, as in Bensberg nr Cologne, where he designed the new hall, Böhm had to take care not to the balance of a locality that had shape organically over the years.

The silhouette of Bensberg is said to have benefited from the imparted by the new concrete against the background of historic per "helmets" of the town's churches and profane buildings.

Without St Mary's, Neviges, the history of architecture in the Federal Republic of Germany would be the poorer too.

It accelerated thought processes in architectural design. A mere 20 years it was built we now admire the

Continued on page 11

THE ARTS

Berlin festival: reform replaces revolution

...year directors at the Berlin drama festival manned the barricades, ...g the jury and the critics of ...onies, of incompetence and of ...l behaviour.

...demanded to be allowed to take ...ning of the festival into their ...ands, but were denied the privi... the ground that the balance of ... would then be upset.

...much for revolution. This year it ...the turn of reform. Instead of 10 ...productions at most by German-...age companies, a dozen were ...d to take part.

...the same time the framework of ...rmances by workshop companies, ...scussions and of Press conferences ...hich the general public are invited ...ertended.

...t selection criteria remain unchang-... The guest performances were of ...the 10-member jury felt had been ...most noteworthy productions by ...man-language theatre companies in ...outgoing season.

...nd as in past years levels differed ...stantially, ranging from Peter Stein's ...ion of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* to Walter ...mayer's production of Peter Greiner's *Kiez*.

...n's *Oresteia*, from West Berlin's ...Schaubühne am Halleschen Ufer, ...a production of symbolic import, il...ating the stage's progress from irra...lism to rationalism, from the dark ...of the emotions to the light of ...htenment.

...kmayer's *Kiez*, from Cologne ...uspielhaus, was billed as an unbour...s tragedy about honour and coldness ...g thieves, but turned out to be ...pom from the provinces.

These, then, were the two extremes between which attempts were made to induce the general public to go to the theatre. The classics, for instance, were revamped to try and make them reveal new features.

This was what Hans Neuenfels sought to do with his Frankfurt production of Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, which he built round Iphigenie's words: *"Ich bin so frei geboren wie der Mann"* (I was born as free as a man).

She is presented as an independent, practically-minded young girl, yet despite the modern approach the classical text is in no way overtaxed.

Neuenfels' *Iphigenie* keeps strictly and splendidly to the original text.

Zurich Schauspielhaus, on the other hand, featured *Fiesco*, a tragedy by Goethe's contemporary and friend Schiller, as a political thriller, set against a background of melodramatic film music.

Director Hans Hollmann stages the tale of the liberator from tyranny who himself becomes a tyrant so effectively that the tension is maintained until the denouement, in no way detracting from the playwright's feverish intelligence.

Matthias Langhoff's Bochum presentation of Büchner's *Woyzeck* as full-blooded but vulgar lowbrow drama is less successful.

It is set in the world of the Big Top, complete with acrobats, a band that plays carnival music and a horse. Büchner's words are so extended in the process that they forfeit much of the punch they pack in the play as conventionally produced.

Heidelberg Stadttheater has likewise transposed Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing* into an unaccustomed setting.

Director Mouchtar-Samorai has the plot take place on the beach at Messina, Italy, in 1915, where the company engage in fun and intrigue just before Italy enters the First World War.



Unaccustomed setting for 'Much Ado About Nothing' (Photo: Ilse Buhs)

His *Much Ado* was less comical than melancholic, and reminiscent of Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice*.

Yet there was no mistaking the spirit of Shakespeare. The bard's rich nuances in human relations were merely brought forward into the 20th century.

Some of the acting was remarkable. Director Claus Peymann of Bochum Schauspielhaus allowed Bernhard Minetti in Thomas Bernhard's *Der Weltverbesserer* to star in a masterpiece of absurd comedy.

The meaning he put into his gestures and his voice was fascinating. Christa Berndl was similarly memorable in Beckett's *Happy Days* as a perfidiously gay Winnie sinking into the sand.

She was also superb in Gombrowicz's *Yvonne of Burgundy*, in which she played a queen who looked like a latter-day millionaire's wife and was given a special round of applause for a rousing monologue.

Both plays came from Cologne and were directed by Luc Bondy. One was a cheerful version of Beckett's Endgame, the other amusing, horrid and abstract.

The Vienna Burgtheater was likewise represented by top-flight acting talent. Erika Pluhar, Gertraud Jesserer, Joachim Bissmaier and Karlheinz Hacke succeeded in making Musil's high-falutin' artificial language resound in Erwin Axer's version of *Der Schwärmer*.

Even so, the theatricality of Musil's play, a drama seldom staged and consisting of seemingly endless tirades about the psychological life of two couples, would seem to be limited.

It was apparent that only a small group of intellectual connoisseurs felt really attracted by the production.

Roland Korn of Hamburg's Thalia-Theater was invited to put on his production of Marie-Luise Fleisser's *Fegefeuer in Ingolstadt*.

This invitation was extended as part of the festival's aim of helping young, talented directors to make a name for themselves beyond the theatre where they normally work.

Korn dispenses with interpretations based on the assumption that we all know better nowadays (the play deals with persecution in the Third Reich).

He makes do with the story, dreadful in itself, of young people going to the wall in a small town racked by prudishness, violence and bigotry.

He has the action played simply and effectively, yet demonstrates a keen sense of tempo, language and atmosphere.

Pina Bausch was back in Berlin with her Wuppertal ballet company, which last year put on *Arien*. It was hard to see why they were invited again.

The festival programme may have claimed that the company had reverted more clearly to dancing in the accepted sense, but there was little indication this was so.

Bandoneon was another avalanche of imes intended to outline the existential but often stooping to the trivial. It was a long, at times boring evening's performance.

Long evenings were somehow characteristic of the entire festival. No performance took less than three hours, some took as long as five.

Plays were willingly stretched and expanded, or so it seemed, leaving theatregoers to shake their heads and wonder whether directors equate quantity with quality or are simply unable to concentrate on what is essential.

Liselotte Müller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 5 June 1981)

Continued from page 10

...in which Böhm handled his new ...m, reinforced concrete.

...d 20 years on much of the crafts...ip on which he relied to put his ...into practice is past history and no ...r available.

...hm held craftsmanship in high es... at this stage of his career and re...d it was a prerequisite for imple...ing his plans.

...was most exacting in the way in ...h he called on his master-carpenters ...rry out his complicated form-work ...s and build a tent-like structure in ...rete.

...eviges is a text-book example of this ...t in his career and also marks the ...rcussions in Germany of a new in...tional style, brutalism.

...hm's flexibility may make it diffi...t to pigeonhole his style, yet St ...y's clearly testified to what it owes ...particular style.

...ake, for instance, the markedly ...smanlike way in which he deals with his material, a rough and ready, often repulsive treatment of the outer skin.

And the patina over the years has continued the process. Yet although the facade developed independent sculptural qualities it is even more apparent that St Mary's as a church was designed from the inside out.

Its true effect is owed to its interior, which is where it testifies to its mysticism.

The place where it lets loose its sacred dignity was systematically prepared by Böhm. As you approach the building the church begins to look less threatening and aggressive and more the desirable objective of a pilgrimage.

The way up to the church gate alleviates the perspective. The line of the laterally built pilgrims' apartments makes the approach route almost assume the proportions of a Baroque procession.

And when you finally set foot in the cathedral you feel, as a pilgrim, you have at long last arrived at your destination.

The interior is explosive in design. It is tall, 35 metres (115ft), with powerful, purposeful lighting and seemingly endless surfaces of a kind only reinforced concrete can provide.

It can accommodate nearly 7,000 people in an interior that has been called a clerical market place because it includes paving stones and street lamps.

The flat concrete roof is borne aloft by an enormous concrete pillar to which the pulpit is symbolically attached.

Galleries and bay windows hover above the ground floor. Movement is everywhere in evidence. It is the hallmark of the pilgrimage.

When a building is said years after it was built to be characteristic or symbolic it is surely a tribute to an architect who anticipated trends and set them.

The current architectural debate best confirms Böhm's achievement in Neviges. He established a symbolical architecture using virtually classical metaphors and tried at an early stage to forge a link between form and function.

Dirk Meyhöfer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 June 1981)

■ MEDICINE

Acupuncture effective and cheap alternative, say doctors

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

Acupuncture could be used just as effectively as conventional medicine in a wide range of applications. And it would be cheaper, according to a Munich doctor.

Manfred Porkert, professor of Sinology and Chinese medical theory at Munich University, says Chinese medicine is the equal of modern western medicine.

He points out that acupuncture is just a part of Chinese medicine that was developed as an anaesthetic only in 1958.

Professor Ingrid Podlesch, of Düsseldorf University also recommends acupuncture as an anaesthetic for several types of surgery.

The method is cheap, she says an advantage with the increasing cost of conventional medicine.

Professor Porkert says that it has become difficult to separate truth from myth in Chinese medicine because of "misinterpretation and falsification" on its way to the West.

Acupuncture received much publicity world-wide when President Nixon visited China in 1972.

But even before then, the medical faculty of Berlin's Free University tried to provide acupuncture with a basis in science.

In 1959 it appointed Professor F. Hübotter to lecture on a "practical introduction to acupuncture."

But it wasn't a success. Berlin Homeopath Dr Rudolph Wilhelm said seven people were at the lecture hall to begin with.

He was the only one left after three hours. After another two hours, Dr Wilhelm left as well "because the whole thing was too complicated.

"Hübotter was barely able to eke out a living despite his therapeutic successes."

He said that if Hübotter had begun his acupuncture after 1972 with the intention of making money — as some others had done by attending "quickie" acupuncture courses in Hong Kong — he would probably have been better off.

To understand this unique therapy that includes the whole person a practitioner would have to study acupuncture for eight to ten years and gather practical experience daily, says Dr. H.W. Rölke, an acupuncture practitioner.

Acupuncture is frequently mistaken for body acupuncture which is only a part of the whole system. Traditional Chinese medicine has no such thing as acupuncture alone.

A book published by the Health Authority of Hopei Province (China) in 1968 and entitled *Zhen Jiu* — Acupuncture and Moxibustion — (moxibustion is a therapy performed by burning small cones of dried leaves on certain designated points of the body, generally the same as those used in acupuncture) says: "Acupuncture is the common Western name for needle and moxibustion. But, for historic reasons, acupuncture and moxibustion have long been one ... moreover, acupuncture and moxibustion therapy have always been used in tandem."

Many acupuncture practitioners in the West, however, know nothing about moxibustion.

Zhen Jiu then goes on: "A mass movement for the study and dissemination of acupuncture and moxibustion was formed in 1958. Many types and methods of this therapy were rediscovered and developed at that time, among them: finger acupuncture, nose acupuncture, ear acupuncture, face acupuncture, tongue acupuncture, fire acupuncture, acupuncture with warm needles, electrical acupuncture, skin acupuncture, water acupuncture, etc."

This gives rise to the question as to what acupuncture is. Is it a scientific therapy method, is it based on suggestion or does it rest on the placebo effect?

The answers differ. The Scientific Advisory Committee of the Medical Association, for instance, puts it this way:

- It is a therapy method for which no scientific basis has been found as yet. Its way of acting on the body is uncertain.
- The application of acupuncture presupposes a clear diagnosis.
- If acupuncture is used by non-experts, physical harm can occur.

In 1978, the Forensic Medicine Departments of Universities of Cologne and East Berlin placed acupuncture in the vicinity of mesmerism, named after the physician Franz Mesmer (1734 to 1815) whose "magnetic cures" based on suggestion earned him the reputation of a precursor of hypnosis therapy.

In an official statement, the GDR Academy of Science rejected acupuncture as a therapy in April 1981. According to an AFP report, the statement said that it was impossible to treat severe disorders with acupuncture. As a result, there is no reason for the GDR to provide research facilities for this technique. It was also not necessary to provide instruction in acupuncture for medical students.

A West German medical journal, on the other hand, recently cited the World Health Organisation (WHO) as saying that acupuncture is a suitable method for the treatment of a number of diseases, among them acute sinus inflammations, broncilal asthma and paralysis following a stroke.

Acupuncture anaesthesia is a method developed in China in 1958 and used by Professor Podlesch. The Scientific Advisory Committee of the Medical Association states that its application as an auxiliary method of anaesthesia is aimed at economising on anaesthetics and pain-killers. But acupuncture without supporting drugs has not proved itself.

'Enormous range' of uses reported

Dr Jan Baum of Münster University, who spent three months at the Academy for Traditional Chinese Medicine in Nanjing (China) holds the same view.

On the other hand, a medical weekly recently headed a report on an acupuncture congress: "Acupuncture gets you there faster".

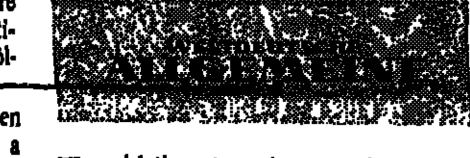
The article says, among other things, that thanks to thousands of years of experience with body acupuncture the range of its uses is enormous, covering virtually the whole field of medicine.

A statement by the internist Professor Hans-Erhard Bock of Tübingen University shows how confused the layman is about this method.

Professor Bock told the Third Congress of General Practitioners in Freiburg recently: "It is paradoxical that rational therapy is now being supplanted by obscure methods. I consider this the sad proof that we have failed in educating our students to be sufficiently scientific and critical." *Heinz Ockhardt*

(Der Tagesspiegel, 7 June 1981)

Legislation reduces rise in prescribed drug consumption



Legislation to reduce medical costs has evidently been successful. Drug consumption in this country rose only slightly in 1980 and is levelling-off this year, a meeting of pharmacists in Berlin was told.

Even so, national health insurance spending for drugs and similar therapeutic items available in pharmacies rose by 8.7 per cent to DM355 per insured person in 1980.

But this was primarily due to higher prices (5 per cent).

Moreover, newly introduced expensive drugs boosted spending by another 2 per cent. Four per cent is accounted for by the fact that doctors prescribed larger packets. On the other hand, the amount of drugs prescribed last yeat was down 2 per cent.

Since the health insurance spending guidelines for 1980, amounting to an increase of 5.9 per cent over the previous year, were exceeded, there is every likelihood that the 4.5 per cent increase envisaged for 1981 will also be overdrawn — especially in view of 5.4 per cent price increases in the first quarter of this year.

Last year saw an increase in the number of pharmacies by 3 per cent to 15,877. The growth in business volume was an above average 9 per cent.

But this, too, was largely attributable to price increases. Sales last year amounted to DM17.2bn (without VAT), DM1.4bn more than in 1979.

The average pharmacy's turnover in 1980 rose by 5 per cent to DM840,000. Assuming an average markup of 32 per cent, the average taxable income was DM105,000. *Harald Manke*

(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 4 June 1981)

Chewing your way to dental health

Two Cologne University students, ... Nachtsheim and Klaus Peters, have won a research prize for their ... on teeth decay. In this article ... summarise their findings.

Close to 95 per cent of German ... caries and 60 per cent ... disorders.

Caries, or tooth decay, is ... prevalent where there is much ... plaque.

Sugar is mainly to blame ... while gum diseases are primarily ... by plaque and by lack of chewing ... cise for the teeth, both of which ... a degeneration of the tooth beds.

Much of the poor condition ... nation's teeth can be attributed ... and excessively sugary food.

Diets should contain more ... substances and be harder, so ... chewing effort must be made ... would lead to natural abrasion ... teeth.

Moreover, food should stimulate ... ough saliva to rinse the teeth ... spaces between.

None of this is achieved ... modern foods nor do electric ... brushes help.

Even if toothbrushes are used ... ly, they cannot replace the normal ... ing functions.

It is an old truism that apples ... carrots clean the teeth. Both are ... abrasive substanees and call for ... siderable chewing action on top ... mulating saliva secretion.

But certain substances in them, ... marily sugar, offset these beneficial ... fects and provide ideal conditions ... bacteria and the formation of plaque.

As a result, only one part of ... foods is beneficial: cellulose.

Cellulose is the basic substance ... vegetable matter. To be used as a ... of dental hygiene, cellulose should ... ly be free of sugars and acids. ... were so, it would not only clean ... teeth but would also provide the ... age needed by the digestive tract.

There is, however, a solution ... by the manufacture of sugar from ... beet.

The beet shreds that are a by-product ... of sugar manufacture have just the ... consistency. Due to extreme ... they attract moisture and so ... saliva secretion. They have an ... sugar residue of only one per ... which is insignificant.

By pressing them into pellets ... diameter they could be chewed ... serve dental hgygiene.

Active chewing would not ... vide the ncessary exercise for the ... but would also clean them.

The pellets could be chewed ... and would thus be as good as ... after every meal.

Chewing 1.5 grammes of these ... for five minutes should do the ...

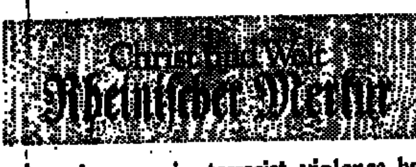
Unlike chewing gum, the chewed ... lets can be swallowed when ... serve as natural roughage. They ... more or less like oats.

Chewing and then eating the ... would offset the roughage deficit ... normal diet and so help control ... pation and obesity. It would also ... certain types of intestinal ... gallstones.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 ...)

STATE SECURITY

Letters indicate that terror group is ready to step up violence



An increase in terrorist violence has already been decided upon, if Federal Criminal Investigation Office (BKA) experts are correct.

They base their assessment on letters received from the terrorist organisation, the "Revolutionary Cells", following the killing of the Hesse Economic Affairs Minister, Heinz Herbert Karry, on 11 May.

The killing itself left the police mystified. They didn't know who the killers were, nor the motive.

Then, late in May, two left-wing newspapers received letters with different dates.

Both were sent by the Revolutionary Cells, the third of Germany's terror organisations after the Red Army Fraction and the 2nd of June Movement.

The BKA takes the letters seriously. A spokesman said: "They are authentic. Their contents are plausible and their style conclusive."

By killing Karry, the Karry, the Revolutionary Cells went beyond the limits they themselves had drawn.

The death means that they have jettisoned their tactics of using violence only against objects rather than people.

But the first signs of terror directed against people date back to May 1978 when members of the organisation emulated Italy's Red Brigades by shooting a court-appointed defence counsellor in a Berlin terrorist trial in the legs.

After a relatively quiet 1980, the terrorists escalated their bomb attacks in the first few months of this year. This is tantamount to a revival of the terrorist cadres of the Revolutionary Cells.

Issue No. 6 of their underground pamphlet "Revolutionary Anger" provided the first clues when it said that is was time to "become active against the small enemies of the people."

In the terminology of the Revolutionary Cells these "small enemies" are doctors, real estate brokers, speculators, businessmen, judges, civil servants and those responsible for the environment.

The idea is to "teach these people a lesson".

This has now culminated in the slaying of Heinz Herbert Karry which the letters cynically call an "operational accident".

In view of this terrorist organisation's methods to date, the latest attack endows their actions with a new dimension.

The suspicion that the murder of Karry was committed by the Revolutionary Cells is substantiated by the fact that all bullets hit the victim in the lower part of the body. This indicates that the group intended only to "punish" rather than kill.

In terms of their ideology, Karry was an "enemy of the people" because he supported nuclear energy and the extension of the Frankfurt airport. And since this involves the environment it falls into the interest sphere of the terrorists.

The question now is: Was it really an "operational accident" or do the shots of 11 May mark a new operational phase?

The epistles on the Karry assassination were late coming (this is typical of the operational styles of the Revolutionary Cells and the RAF).

Though the reasons given for the attack on Karry sound convincing, the BKA says, thus substantiating the authenticity of the letters, the excessively long interval between the slaying and the mailing of the letters indicates a "thinking pause" and this in turn points to internal debates within the Revolutionary Cells.

The terrorists frankly admitted their "mistake"; but the key question remains: was it really just an "accident" or was it a trial balloon for a long-term strategy?

BKA experts are still don't know the organisation's structure or its logistics.

They are, however, pretty certain that, following the heavy losses inflicted on the hard core of the RAF and its successor organisations, the Revolutionary Cells are now the most dangerous of the terrorist groups.

They are urban guerrillas par excellence, modelled on the theses of Carlos Marighella.

Unlike the RAF, the members of these cadres lead normal lives for as long as possible. Most of them don't go underground but hold regular jobs and operate independently.

They only meet to carry out terrorist actions and then disperse again.

The individual cells usually consists of three to five people, some of whom know each other only by their code names.

It is this organisational structure that has earned them the label of "after-work terrorists".

They have been active in this country since 1973. Even during periods of relative calm, they always tried to attract the attention of the RAF by spectacular coups.

The terrorist needs headlines. Being ignored is deadly for him.

In all their activities the Cells always acted in solidarity with the RAF and the 2nd of June Movement (which has meanwhile been united with the RAF).

The Cells have thus from the very beginning campaigned against the prison conditions of their RAF comrades.

The Cells propagate "anti-imperialist" campaigns. Their main targets are the policies of the US and its allies (Nato).

Their actions are frequently pegged to current regional and social issues. These issues also serve to gain support for their terrorist "struggle". This includes above all the anti-nuke movement, citizens' action groups, women's lib and similar groupings from which they try to muster support for their revolutionary zeal.

The development of an ever closer international terrorist cooperation, as initiated by the RAF, is now being pursued by the Cells as well.

This process is evidenced by the attack on the Opec ministers in Vienna (December 1975) in which Hans-Joachim Klein, a former member of the Revolutionary Cells, took part. (Klein has meanwhile left the terrorist movement and is living underground.)

Two former Cell members were also involved in the June 1976 skyjacking of an Air France jet.

The Cells are organisationally decentralised and broken down into numerous groups and mini groups.

As a result, there is always the possibility of uncontrolled action by the individual groups.

Was the killing of Karry the result of such an uncontrolled action? There is no way of answering this question now. But one thing is certain: the murder marks a change in the terrorist scene in this country.

While, in the past, the Cells were more discriminating (for instance, they informed clergymen by telephone before exploding a bomb to prevent loss of life), this threshold was crossed with Karry's assassination.

BKA experts hold that this could happen again and that there are signs indicating such a development. "The Revolutionary Cells are under close scrutiny at the moment and we take them extremely seriously." *Rolf Töpfer*

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 12 June)

The late Heinz Karry

(Photo: Sven Simon)

Minister Karry murdered by accident, say killers

The murder of Hesse Economic Affairs Minister Heinz Herbert Karry was allegedly an "accident".

In letters sent to two left-wing publications, the terrorist organisation Revolutionary Cells says that the intention was to "punish" Karry by shooting him in the legs.

The killing was on 11 May.

The Federal Prosecutor's Office in Karlsruhe has confirmed that such letters were received and said that they are being studied by the state and federal criminal investigation departments.

There had been some doubt as to whether the attack on the FDP politician was politically motivated since there was no clue about who the killers were.

It appears that the attack on Karry (he was shot through an open bedroom window) was carefully planned.

The terrorist letters say that it was not intended to kill him but that he was to be immobilised by several shots in the legs.

The authors say that, had they intended to kill Karry, they would have used a larger weapon and aimed at the head.

The weapon, a 22 calibre pistol, was found by a witness.

One of the bullets severed Karry's femural artery. This was the actual "accident" that led to the politician's death.

The letters said the killers had "practised self-criticism" for it.

They announced further armed action.

ddp

(General-Anzeiger, 2 June 1981)

Death blast 'a one-man job'

The bomb which exploded at last year's *Oktoberfest* in Munich killing 13 and injuring 230 was the work of one man, concludes an investigation.

A report containing all the evidence concludes that Gundolf Köhler acted alone.

Köhler, a 21 year old student, was one of the fatally injured.

The police squad formed to investigate what was Germany's worst, in terms of casualties, post-war crime, has been disbanded. At one stage it was 100 strong.

It collected some 1,500 pieces of evidence consisting of such items as scattered traffic signs and other bomb debris plus more than 100 experts' reports.

Köhler was an expert in the art of terrorism but he had no direct accomplice, although the question about his friends and people who might have persuaded him to commit the crime remains open.

The fact that he probably acted alone is also borne out by the autopsy. He was obviously holding the British mortar grenade in both hands when it exploded.

Tools and metal shavings found in the basement of his parents' home indicate that he fixed the bomb for a maximum shrapnel effect.

The special squad found no indication of the motive nor did it find any link with specific terrorist organisations.

Despite a thorough investigation of Köhler's friends and relatives, all it transpired was that he had contacts with the *Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann* (a neo-Nazi paramilitary organisation) and with the right wing radical "University Circle of Tübingen Students".

The bomb that exploded in a litter basket at the entrance to the festival grounds killed 12 people apart from Köhler himself; 230 were injured, 177 of them so badly that they are eligible for disability pensions.

Seven of the victims are still in hospital. Eleven had legs amputated.

The State of Bavaria and the City of Munich have so far distributed donations totalling DM3m to 197 victims.

The crime will go unpunished. Ironically, however, two people who, together with thousands of others, expressed their grief in a spontaneous demonstration on 30 September were faced with criminal action and sentenced.

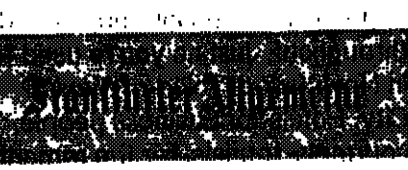
A teacher and a doctor had carried a poster intended for the demonstration but this had been scheduled for a later hour. Because they jumped the gun, they were fined DM800 each for violating demonstration laws.

Karl Stankiewitz

(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 3 June 1981)

SPORT

The mental make-up behind success on the field



Sport is not primarily a physical phenomenon, experts have been told at a symposium on the psychology held in ...

First and foremost sport is a mental phenomenon, a matter of the soul, the mind and the personality, said Professor Bäumler, who organised the gathering.

Sport is used by man to fulfil requirements needed for his well-being. Runners feel a sense of distance and speed, tennis players a sense of speed and action, athletes feel how much better their performance is than that of their competitors.

All in all, sport provides a measure of confirmation no longer readily available in other sectors of everyday life. No wonder that psychologists have wanted to prescribe sport as a drug, so to speak.

Competition in top-flight sport has inevitably also fostered research into the psychology of sport.

Techniques in many sports are so sophisticated that spectacular improvements in performance can no longer be expected. So the psychologically best prepared competitor is likely to win.

Link between personality and performance

Modern scientific and experimental psychology has established a close link between personality structure and sporting performance.

The link between character and sporting success at the top is particularly evident. Successful athletes are highly motivated, psychically stable and possessed of powerful egos.

In the extrovert the level of excitement of the cerebral cortex is lower than in the introvert.

The man feels too few sensual impressions are boring and too many are ... a medium level of excitement is ... to be the most pleasurable.

The introvert, with a higher initial level, reaches this medium level faster than the extrovert. The extrovert needs more and stronger sensual perceptions for his well-being and is constantly on the lookout for them.

This quest for excitement is thus a basic feature of the riskier sports, such as hang-gliding, parachuting and flight mountaineering.

The introvert is similarly better equipped to cope with a shortfall of sensual impressions, whereas the extrovert is less sensitive to pain.

Intensification of physical activity offsets the missing sensual impressions the extrovert needs for his well-being. As for the introvert, he is also keen on avoiding social situations and adores isolation.

This is not to say that all athletes are either extroverted. The degree varies among various disciplines in any given sport.

In marksmanship, for instance, introverts will tend to prefer target shooting, while extroverts will prefer clay pigeon shooting.

The difference is even more marked among runners. Extroverts are particularly well represented over the sprint distances, whereas introverts go for the loneliness of the long-distance runner.

In addition to these features of their temperament successful athletes often tend to be imperturbable. They are less prone to anxiety than medium-grade sportsmen and the rest of us, or so a London University psychologist said in Munich.

A number of middle-of-the-road athletes seem to be prevented by anxiety from winning. This is a mental barrier that can be surmounted by psychological training to put paid to anxiety.

Psychologists have also found first-rate athletes to be frequently egoistic, aggressive, impulsive loners.

In physiological terms there seems to be a link between these qualities and the male sex hormones and the tissue hormone serotonin, which affects blood pressure and the central nervous system.

So it is clearly not sport that makes a man a disciplined athlete keen to accomplish a first-rate performance; it is people with the appropriate characteristics who tend to seek satisfaction in sport.

The better a given sport is suited to the needs and character of the individual, the more the individual is likely to prove outstanding in the sport.

That is why, say, chess is a sporting discipline, whereas games of chance are not. Chess players have to fight and prevail over the tactics and intelligence of their opponents. Their performance is thus evaluated and felt to be given a performance rating.

Sports psychologists in the GDR have long realised that there is a link between personality and sporting achievement. They not only conduct intensive research in this sector but also deliberately select candidates for top-flight sport in accordance with psychological criteria. In the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other hand, the relationship between sports psychologists and sports participants leaves much to be desired.

Coaches and athletes often still reject psychologists out of sheer ignorance. Yet in other Western countries such as Sweden or Canada the findings of sports psychologists have been used for some time on both field and track.

Training staff in the Federal Republic of Germany, in contrast, still tend to rely on their intuition.

Intuition undeniably plays in important part in training, but it can surely not be enough as a selection procedure in grooming top-flight athletes for stardom.

There are limits to performance in the personality of the athletes that cannot be exceeded by even the best of training, said Herr Lienert, a Nuremberg University psychologist.

Mental make-up, temperament and intelligence underline performance ability in children and juveniles, and these qualities merely grow more marked as children grow into men and women.

So the trainer is thus equipped with a reliable means of estimating how successful his charges are likely to be, said Professor Bäumler.



Volleyball's equivalent of soccer's congratulatory hug.

(Photo: Sven Simon)

Mistakes by athletes can be avoided once the mental background to the mistake is brought to light, which is why staff of the Max Planck Psychiatric Institute, Munich, are probing the behaviour to which athletes intuitively resort to step up performance.

Take, for instance, the "mental warm-up." In much the same way as they warm up their muscles before a match, many athletes tend to give themselves a pre-match mental warm-up.

Ice hockey players let rip a war cry before skating into the rink. Individual (as opposed to team) athletes tend to talk to themselves.

This can be effective. It can also prove dangerous. There have been setbacks suffered as a result of inordinate "motivation."

So experts advise channeling excitement, just as pep talks before the match must be chosen carefully.

They must, for instance, be positive in tone. Making a mental note to be careful and make no mistakes can so easily prove a boomerang. The concept of mistakes is nothing if not negative.

Sport has already proved its worth in rehabilitation for people recovering from heart attacks. There are now plans to use it more extensively among convicts.

The aim here is to offset the convict's shortfall of experiences and stimuli, since people with an above-average need of stimulation and diversion have proved liable to resort to anti-social behaviour when stimulus is lacking in their daily environment.

Convicts' heightened desire for adventure and sensation could arguably be satisfied by exciting and risky sporting activity.

The importance of sports psychology for top-flight sport and human behaviour in general remains to be seen, psychology having hitherto concentrated mainly on processes of perception and consciousness.

Research into man's need for movement and the interface between the psyche and physical movement is still in its early days.

We are still not sure, for instance, whether Plato was right or not in saying: "Avoid overemphasising either the mind or the body and so maintain a healthy balance between the two."

Anneliese Furtmayr-Schuh

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 June 1981)

Macken's show-jumping win

Irishman Eddie Macken, riding Spotlight (above), won the German show-jumping Derby in Hamburg by a tenth of a second from Paul Schockemöhle (Mühlen), on El Paso. Third was Fritz Ligges (Herbern) on Goya. Macken's final round 51.2 seconds brought him his third victory in the event. The others were in 1976 and 1978. (Photo: Nordbild)

